Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
INFO WHITE HOUSE PRIORITY

SECRETSTATE 207902

NODIS

FOR AMBASSADORS HUMMEL AND HARTMAN WH FOR BRZEZINSKI

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: MNUC, PK, FR

SUBJECT: REPROCESSING PLANT FOR PAKISTAN

REF: (A) ISLAMABAD 8525, (B) PARIS 24889

1. IN RESPONSE TO REFTELS, WE WOULD LIKE TO SHARE OUR CURRENT AND TENTATIVE THINKING ON NEW FRENCH APPROACH WITH RESPECT TO REPROCESSING IN PAKISTAN. WHILE WE WELCOME THE FRENCH INITIATIVE, WE CANNOT COMMENT CONSTRUCTIVELY ON ITS SUBSTANCE WITHOUT MORE TECHNICAL INFORMATION ON THE SECRET

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RESTRUCTURED PLANT. THE FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS, FOR EXAMPLE, MAY BE FAR GREATER THAN SUGGESTED BY DE GUIRINGAUD. FURTHERMORE, UNTIL WE CAN ASSESS THE EXTENT TO WHICH A RESTRUCTURED PLANT MAY BE PROLIFERATION-RESISTANT, WE CANNOT MAKE A JUDGMENT ON THE APPLICABILITY OF THE GLENN AMENDMENT OR THE PROSPECTS FOR A WAIVER.

2. WE WILL NEED TO CONSIDER THE FRENCH PROPOSAL CAREFULLY IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR BROAD NON-PROLIFERATION POLICY CONCERNS. EVEN ASSUMING THAT A RESTRUCTURED PLANT AS DESCRIBED BY THE FRENCH WOULD BE MORE PROLIFERATION-RESISTANT, THE FACT REMAINS THAT ANY REPROCESSING PLANT PUTS PAKISTAN A STEP CLOSER TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS CAPABILITY. MOREOVER, THE FRENCH PROPOSAL HAS PRECEDENTIAL IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. IN

TERMS OF OUR POLICIES TOWARD REPROCESSING ELSEWHERE, E.G. INDIA, JAPAN, BRAZIL, IRAN, ETC. IN EFFECT IT TENDS TO PREJUDGE THE OUTCOME OF THE INTERNATIONAL FUEL CYCLE EVALUATION (INFCE), IN WHICH WE WILL BE EXAMINING A VARIETY OF ALTERNATIVES TO THE PRESENT TECHNOLOGY BEARING IN MIND BOTH THE ECONOMICS AND PROLIFERATION-RESISTANCE OF VARIOUS METHODS

- 3. THUS, OUR BASIC OBJECTIVE CONTINUES TO BE CANCELLATION OR INDEFINITE DEFERRAL OF ANY REPROCESSING PLANT IN PAKISTAN. CLEARLY, THERE IS NO SOUND ECONOMIC BASIS FOR THIS FACILITY, GIVEN THE MODEST SCOPE OF PAKISTAN'S NUCLEAR POWER PROGRAM, AND WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE, IN THE ABSENCE OF PERSUASIVE EVIDENCE TO THE CONTRARY, THAT ACQUISITION OF A REPROCESSING PLANT WOULD CONSTITUTE A PROLIFERATION RISK.
- 4. NEVERTHELESS, WE SEE THE FRENCH PROPOSAL AS A CON-STRUCTIVE STEP WHICH ALLOWS MORE ROOM FOR MANEUVER THAN SECRET

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WE HAVE HAD PREVIOUSLY. WE INFER FROM DE GUIRINGAUD'S REMARKS, AS WELL AS OTHER CONTACTS WITH FRENCH OFFICIALS THAT A SIGNIFICANT SEGMENT OF FRENCH POLICYMAKERS REGRET THE ORIGINAL DECISION ON THE REPROCESSING DEAL AND WOULD PREFER TO FIND A PLAUSIBLE REASON FOR CANCELLATION. OUR TACTICS IN RESPONDING TO THE FRENCH PROPOSAL SHOULD BE DESIGNED TO SUPPORT THIS SCHOOL OF THOUGHT. (WE HOPE RECENT SOUTH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENTS WILL ALSO REINFORCE THE MISGIVINGS OF THIS GROUP.) IN THIS REGARD IT WOULD CERTAINLY BE PREFERABLE IF THE PAKISTANI RESPONSE TO THE FRENCH PROPOSAL WERE SUFFICIENTLY NEGATIVE AND/OR OTHERWISE MADE CLEAR THAT THEY WANT THE REPROCESSING PLANT IN ORDER TO OBTAIN PURE PLUTONIUM. AS DE GUIRINGAUD INDICATED, THIS COULD PROVIDE GROUNDS FOR GISCARD TO CANCEL.

5. WE AGREE WITH AMBASSADOR HUMMEL THAT AGHA SHAHI MAY RETURN POSTE HASTE TO ISLAMABAD FOR CONSULTATIONS AFTER THE FRENCH PROPOSAL IS PUT TO HIM. APART FROM ATTEMPTING TO HOLD THE FRENCH TO THE TERMS OF THE CONTRACT, WE WONDER IF THE MARTIAL LAW REGIME MAY NOT PREFER TO LEAVE TO A POST-ELECTION GOVERNMENT THE DECISION ON WHETHER TO UNDERTAKE NEGOTIATIONS FOR A RESTRUCTURED PLANT. IN ANY

EVENT, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT AT THIS TIME WE CAN OR SHOULD ENCOURAGE THE PAKISTANIS TO RESPOND POSITIVELY TO THE FRENCH OFFER BY ASSURING THEM OF U.S. FINANCIAL SUPPORT OR EXEMPTION FROM LEGISLATIVE SANCTIONS. HOWEVER, IF QUERIED BY THE GOP, WE COULD INDICATE WILLINGNESS TO EXPLORE THE ISSUES INVOLVED.

6. IN CONSIDERING OUR RESPONSE TO THE FRENCH, WE RECOGNIZE THAT (1) THE PROPOSAL PRECLUDES FURTHER REPROCESSING TRANSFERS FOR A CONSIDERABLE PERIOD, WHICH IS BENEFICIAL BOTH IN TERMS OF OUR NON-PROLIFERATION CONCERNS AND OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN (GLENN AMENDMENT); (2) LENGTHY DISCUSSIONS ON A RESTRUCTURED PLANT COULD EVENTUALLY LEAD THE FRENCH TO CANCEL OR EVEN CONCEIVABLY PERSECRET

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SUADE A FUTURE PAKISTANI GOVERNMENT OF ITS IMPRACTICALITY; AND (3) IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, WHILE WE PREFER NO REPROCESSING IN PAKISTAN, IF THE PROPOSAL CAME TO FRUITION IT WOULD PRESUMABLY RESULT IN A MORE PROLIFERATION-RESISTANT PLANT THAN THE ORIGINAL ONE DESIGNED FOR THE SEPARATION OF PURE PLUTONIUM.

7. GIVEN THESE CONSIDERATIONS, IT IS CLEAR WE DO NOT WANT TO DISCOURAGE THE FRENCH INITIATIVE BUT AT THIS TIME EMBASSY PARIS CAN DO LITTLE MORE THAN INDICATE THAT WE HAVE AN OPEN MIND, APPRECIATION FOR NO FURTHER REPROCESSING TRANSFERS, AND AN INTEREST IN FURTHER EXPLORATION AT THE TECHNICAL LEVEL.

CHRISTOPHER

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